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Goldwater: The man from Arizona last week emerged on the national scene flushed with a victory over Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg in a nation-wide TV debate. The bout was presented to tens of millions of viewers under NBC sponsorship and dealt with the Kennedy program to hasten cure of the present economic recession.

No longer, consequently, is Senator Barry Goldwater rated among Capitol Hill dopesters as merely the idol of a right-wing cult, as just the spokesman of one segment of the GOP. He has now definitely "arrived" as a potent personality on the whole national scene, drawing admirers from all parts of the body politic of the country. The debate marked a new phase in the Goldwater saga.

His performance—aggressive, vivid, informed, concrete—has enabled him to enlarge his following greatly and to impart extra momentum to his bandwagon. His publicity arc is extending: it is known that eight national magazines are preparing profiles of the Arizonan, and reportedly *Time* magazine plans to give him an enviable position: the cover of an early issue. Next TV appearance: "The Great Challenge" program, CBS.

It's no secret that the Goldwater image seemed a bit blurred a month ago—doubtless because of his first (and less than brilliant) venture into the field of TV debating, on the CBS "Face the Nation" show against Senator Eugene McCarthy (D.-Minn.). Both men appeared as awkward amateurs in this medium—with a resultant flood of criticism from their followers (see February 17 HUMAN EVENTS).

Senator Goldwater, however, took heed of constructive criticism, altered his tactics, immersed himself in intensive briefing for his bout with the Secretary of Labor. As a result, he put his characteristic message over so well that even the Washington studio audience voted for him with its applause. Today, as a result, the image is sharp and clear.

One telling blow: The Senator, while noting sympathetically Secretary Goldberg's listing of the "human" steps to alleviate those suffering from unemployment, warned that these Administration moves are simply palliatives, do not solve the problem and urged tax depreciation relief "right away" to eliminate or diminish this unemployment. And when Goldberg sought to capitalize on the actions of Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Thirties, the Arizonan met him head on. He reminded his opponent (and for all to hear) that the F.D.R. policies had *not* solved the great depression, that massive unemployment persisted and only the approach of World War II put the idle to work. This view, a commonplace among economists (but one, incidentally, which the pallid Modern Republicans never dared to use), punctured a favorite myth of the New Deal.

Goldwater's debunking has angered New Frontier zealots in the Capital, and he further frustrates them by citing as his source of authority none other than their No. 1 braintruster, Harvard Professor John Kenneth Galbraith, who said in his volume *American Capitalism—The Concept of Countervailing Power*:

> **"The depression of the 1930's never came to an end; it merely disappeared in the great mobilization of the 1940's."**

There remains little doubt that Secretary Goldberg had difficulty in coping with the Senator's main thesis—that government cannot solve economic recession, that only free enterprise can perform the task. Washington observers noted how receptive the audience was to a thesis which, a decade ago, would have encountered a generally chilly reaction; indeed, ten years ago, few important politicos, even of the Right, cared to press such a challenge to an accepted nostrum of those days (that only government could do the job).

One veteran in the Capital remarked: "Credit to Goldwater, yes. But also to the Eisenhower regime. In the past eight years, Ike, George Humphrey, Bob Anderson have done a good job educating the people about the value of free enterprise and the drawbacks of government intervention. As a result, a more realistic climate of public opinion has given the conservative viewpoint an appreciative audience."

Behind the Velvet Glove: The Administration's publicity machine has worked not without success to propagate the impression that the new President has shown commendable "moderation" in his politics so far. Yet the essentially radical pattern behind his program cannot easily be concealed, especially in two areas—those of Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall.

It is no secret by this time that Freeman is making ready the most drastic program of controls over farming ever seen in this country or anywhere else this side of the Iron Curtain.

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The new Secretary of Agriculture is already reversing the "freeing the farmer from controls" concept of his predecessor, Secretary Ezra Taft Benson. As one wag put it, "It's going to be 'back to Brannan' from now on [referring to Truman's Secretary of Agriculture who offered what was deemed a collectivize-the-farmers plan]."

Lighting up this developing trend of the Kennedy Administration is a largely unreported account of what is happening to the soybean producers. On February 16, Freeman announced that the soybean support price would be raised from $1.85 a bushel to $2.30 a bushel. This step was taken without any consultation with soybean growers, who had asked for and gotten a price support reduction in 1958. Following that action they were pleased and happy until —last month—they heard that the Secretary planned to give them something they had not asked for, had not heard about and which they did not want.

On investigation, they discovered that the hoist in soybean supports was an idea sold to the Department by none other than Roswell Garst, hybrid seed breeder of Coon Rapids, Iowa. Garst was host to Nikita Khrushchev when the latter toured the US in 1959, and the Coon Rapids farmer has done a bit of business with the Soviet Union.

The growers are in the dumps for they fear that the $2.30 a bushel price is going to stick even if it means that the soybean industry, now free and healthy, is going to take its place alongside wheat and corn as captive and ailing. The soybean support increase is part of the radical Freeman program designed to raise farm prices, regardless, and to raise them through intensive government management and intervention.

Secretary of the Interior Udall similarly is intent on turning the clock back to New and Fair Deal days, helping the socialistic public power forces to create dams and "authorities" *(see "Public Power" story on page* 163).

Despite the fact that Kennedy—supporting Freeman's radical farm plans as campaign material—went down to defeat in all farm states (save Minnesota, where he won narrowly), the Administration seems intent on forcing the farm segment of the country into a collectivist straight jacket, whether the farmers like it or not.

Education Bill Imbroglio: House Democratic Leader John W. McCormack has defied President Kennedy on the latter's Federal education bill, and has demanded that construction loans to parochial schools be included. Kennedy sticks to his stand to the contrary. Most Congressmen think Catholic, Lutheran and other churches have a definite grievance: that without their church schools, a huge additional burden would fall on the taxpayers of the country; and that parents of children in church and private schools deserve relief.

There is another way out of this imbroglio—Goldwater's way. In essence, his proposal (see March 3 HUMAN EVENTS) gives each property owner a cut in his Federal tax payment of an amount, not to exceed $100, equal to that portion of his real property tax which is used for public education. Getting back—in effect—that much money from the Federal government, he can vote the authority to his local government to spend it on additional school needs, if he so desires.

This bill will aid all property owners—including those with children in church or private schools. The latter property owners help support both public and private school systems.

Many Republicans like this Goldwater measure because their party is not content merely to oppose Administration bills, but also wants to propose constructive alternatives.

The Goldwater Senate measure has now been introduced in identical form in the House by Rep. Margaret Stitt Church (R.-Ill.) and the legislation will probably be known as the Goldwater-Church bill.

Capitol Camera: Joke of the week in Congress: Dr. Walter W. Heller, the President's liberal economic adviser, about ten years ago presumed to give advice of the "New Frontier" nature to the West German Government. The economic advisers of Chancellor Adenauer did not follow the Heller recommendations; in fact, they took a directly opposite course of "leave it to free enterprise." The results in booming West Germany today are before the public, with consequent mirth at Heller's expense.

• *Republican pros are now talking of creating a two-man team to run a reorganized GOP National Committee. They suggest Representative William Miller of New York as Chairman and Ray Bliss of Ohio as his assistant. The former would shape policy and Bliss, whose forte is organization, would work in the grass roots. Miller is a conservative, whose policies differ from those of Nelson Rockefeller, governor of his state. Both Bliss and Miller did outstanding jobs in the last election; Bliss pulled off the surprising GOP victory in Ohio; Miller, Chairman of the House Republican Congressional Committee, racked up a 22-seat net gain in the House for the GOP.*

• George F. Kennan, appointed Ambassador to Yugoslavia, advocates disarmament in order, first, to "loosen up" tensions between East and West, and then to negotiate differences. The Eisenhower Administration took a contrary tack, stressed that political differences had to be solved before disarmament could come.

• *German mark revalued, upvalued. What observers just back from West Germany say: this move is not designed primarily to help the US; it's to help the West German domestic economic situation. Revaluation will make imports cheaper and thus ease the tight labor situation, make food less expensive and make consumers contented. Good*

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political maneuver? Yes, to help re-elect Adenauer and his party at the coming election.

• Representative William E. Miller (R.-N.Y.), chairman of the House Republican Congressional Committee, told Republican women in Washington last week that "women voters displayed greater judgment than men during the 1960 Presidential election." He cited figures, a projection of a Gallup poll, showing that 17.3 million women voted for the GOP ticket while 16.3 million voted for Kennedy-Johnson.

Recession: Two Kennedy lieutenants indicated last week that the nation's economic situation isn't as bad as the Administration has claimed. Presidential economic adviser Heller, after telling the Joint Economic Committee that he was worried about the growth rate in the US, said that he nevertheless saw an "upturn" in the economy. And Secretary of Labor Goldberg released figures showing that 64,655,000 persons were employed in February, an all-time high for the second month of the year. (Goldberg still maintained that the US was in a terrible "recession.")

While liberals harp on the current 6.8 per cent unemployment figure as justification for rushing through Kennedy's anti-recession legislative program, even Goldberg admits the unemployment percentage was higher during the recession of 1958, when President Eisenhower refused to resort to Federal pump-priming as a means of recovery.

Many Washington skeptics question the real meaning of Goldberg's unemployment totals, pointing out that he is including at least 900,000 wives of bread-winning husbands, as well as an untold number of youngsters 14 years of age and older who report that they cannot find jobs.

Furthermore, in 1957, as explained in the Labor Department's Earning Report of January, 1961, the definition of "unemployed" was changed so "two groups averaging about ¼ million workers which were formerly classified as employed . . . were assigned to different classifications, mostly the unemployed."

Tower of Texas: Lyndon Johnson's Senate seat is up for grabs in the Lone Star State, and there is a fair-to-good chance that it will be corralled by a conservative Republican. He is John Tower, the 35-year-old political science professor who ran a surprisingly strong (42 per cent of the vote) race against L.B.J. last November.

Tower stands as the only Republican in a field of some 70 candidates running in the April 4 special election. The two who get the highest votes (assuming no one wins a majority of all votes, since it is highly unlikely) will meet in a runoff in May. The leading contenders include William Blakley of Dallas, a Johnson man who got the interim appointment to the seat, Congressman James C. Wright, Jr., of Forth Worth, Texas Attorney General Will Wilson, former State Representative Maury Maverick, Jr., and State Senator Henry Gonzales. The latter two, from San Antonio, are expected to run strongest among Negro and Mexican-American voters. The other three are scrapping for top billing as the leading "moderate." This leaves conservative Tower in a good position in a conservative state.

But although Tower leads the others in Texas newspaper polls, he's beginning to suffer from a lack of campaign funds. Many of the state's big oilmen, longtime associates of L.B.J., are favoring Blakley or Wilson in hopes of gaining favor with the Administration. In an effort to aid Tower, Senators Morton and Goldwater are heading local fund-raising dinners.

Depressed Areas: The Administration-sponsored Area Redevelopment bill would lend or grant private firms money (an estimated $389 million to start) to build plants in depressed areas. Under the bill, the Administration could determine that an area was depressed and designate it as an industrial redevelopment area.

Opposing the bill, Senator Wallace F. Bennett (R.-Utah) points out:

(1) Nothing in the bill would create new jobs. It can only hope to influence companies to locate in particular communities.

(2) There are now some 15,000 agencies—5,000 private and 10,000 public—which have as a main function the inducement of business into particular areas.

(3) *If legislation should be passed to induce plant building, it would take between a year and* 18 *months before actual operations could start. Who could say what economic conditions or population shifts would be like in the meantime?*

(4) The bill is unnecessary because states could be authorized to sell tax exempt revenue bonds, the proceeds of which would be used to build a plant according to local needs.

(5) *The program is discriminatory in practice. It would favor certain sections of the country over others.*

(6) It has the consequence of injecting the Federal government further into the free enterprise system.

Public Power: The Kennedy message to Congress on natural resources was plain in its intent to scuttle the Eisenhower "partnership" (that is, joint private and government) policy in developing power projects and to return to the public power philosophy prevalent in the days of the New Deal.

H. R. GROSS, Republican Congressman from Iowa: "In the battle to halt those forces which seek to corrode and destroy this Constitutional Republic, HUMAN EVENTS is making a major contribution. It ought to reach into the homes of millions instead of thousands of Americans."

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The President called for nationalized "interconnecting power lines" to extend across the country, and he stressed that a hydroelectric project should be made a part of all Federal river developments. He also urged expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority, cooperative pooling of electric power, and government construction of atomic-energy reactors.

Few doubt the President means business when he says he intends to expand public power, which presently produces 24 per cent of the nation's electrical output. The Administration has already taken steps, or is expected to take steps, to revise the power policy of the Eisenhower Administration in the following manner:

- Freeze out private enterprise (as Interior Secretary Udall declared on February 14) except in mineral cases—the Bureau of Land Management must hold up for at least 18 months private firm and individual applications for the use of any part of some 180 million government-owned acres. (Udall partially backtracked when four Western Republican Senators sent him a bristling note claiming his Executive fiat violated the "major portion of the public land laws enacted by the United States Congress.")

- Deny private companies licenses on the ground they cannot "fully develop" water resources, which in many cases now includes even the construction of recreation facilities. Private companies fear this will be the policy of ex-TVA lobbyist Joseph Swidler, if the Senate confirms his appointment as chairman of the Federal Power Commission.

Unemployment Compensation: The Temporary Unemployment Compensation Bill, which passed the House and is now before the Senate Finance Committee, is being looked upon with grave reservations by many conservatives. Some Congressmen, even though they voted for it, were irate that the legislation was sent to the floor of the House under a "closed rule" which barred any amendments. This was in noticeable contrast to procedure in 1958 when an unemployment compensation measure was introduced with amendments freely permitted.

Congressman August E. Johansen (R.-Mich.) also draws some other unfavorable contrasts between the present bill, which he opposed, and the 1958 bill which he favored:

> **In the 1958 bill, Federal funds for temporary extension of unemployment benefits were offered as a repayable loan to states needing them. The 1961 measure provides Federal aid in the forms of grants, i.e., outright gifts.**

State participation was on a completely voluntary basis in 1958. The present bill imposes an increase in Federal unemployment tax on employers in 50 states. "The effect," says Johansen, "is to encourage all of the states to seek aid even though the bulk of the unemployment problem is concentrated in 10 states."

While the 1958 measure, says Johansen, was "clearly designated as a temporary and emergency measure, this year both by its provisions and by the avowed purposes of the Administration, this bill is in reality a bridge from state authority over unemployment compensation to permanent Federal standards and increasing Federal financing."

OECD Treaty: In what looks like the old "pigskin under the jersey" play again, the Administration is quietly supporting a treaty calling for United States membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. This treaty would bind the US to Canada and the 18 members of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in a situation of closer economic interdependence. It was reported to the Senate floor last week.

It is noted that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on the OECD treaty, held last month, were closed, and that there has been little critical discussion in the press. The stated aims of OECD are to "achieve the highest sustainable economic growth and employment" and to "contribute to sound economic expansion" in member countries, as well as to "contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multi-lateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations." Those who support the treaty argue that the US economy must expand in harmony with those of our allies—that we must gear our industrial pitch to those of other nations.

United States membership in OECD was strongly opposed on the floor of the House by Georgia Democrat James C. Davis, who stated that "the articles governing its aims and powers would shift important aspects of authority over the tariff and quotas and other methods of regulating our foreign commerce out of the hands of the Congress to the Executive branch, more particularly to the Department of State. It would go further than that. Much of the power would flow into the 20-member body sitting in Geneva or some other foreign seat of power . . . . The charter of the OECD provides that further members may be brought in from time to time, other nations, other countries, and it would not be at all amazing if before the full membership had been determined there would be 50, 75, or more members to participate in the activities of that body, and for each one that was added, of course, the influence of the United States of America would be diluted further. Decisions having far-reaching effects upon our industries, our workers and our farmers would be reached thousands of miles away . . . ."

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We must resist the tendency in ourselves to become complacent and to push things aside as not really our business, or one day we will find that all we believe in and have fought for has been turned into sand that dribbles away through our fingers.
—DR. PAUL B. MAGNUSON—
From *Ring the Night Bell*, (Little, Brown & Co.)

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A Report to Thruston Morton

'60 GOP Convention Delegates Polled on Federal Aid to Education

By ERNEST L. WILKINSON
President of Brigham Young University

(This article is a reprint of a letter sent by the author on February 22 to Senator Thruston Morton, Chairman of the Republican National Committee.)

AT THE Republican National Convention held in July, 1960, at Chicago, I had the privilege of serving as a member of the Republican Platform Committee to which I was duly elected by the Republican party in my home state of Utah.

As a member of that committee and possibly because of my position as president of a large university, although I had indicated my preference for another committee, I was appointed to the subcommittee on Education, Science and Technology. On that committee were eleven men and women, from the states of Colorado, Iowa, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming. At the outset Honorable Gordon Allott, Senator from Colorado, was designated as chairman by the officials of the convention and the committee honored me by electing me vice chairman.

Just before the convention we met three days as a subcommittee, hearing witnesses and drafting a plank to be presented to the full committee. Two of the most important questions that arose were whether the Republican party should favor (1) Federal aid to states for the payment of school teachers' salaries, and (2) Federal aid to states for the construction of buildings for elementary and secondary schools.

On the first question, the committee from the start was unanimously of the opinion that such aid was not in the public interest. As to the second, it was also apparent from the start that nearly all members were of the opinion that it was also unwise for the Federal government to enter this new field of financial support.

The chairman, however, favored the second proposal. It was therefore debated fully and freely for a number of days, the chairman (with the acquiescence of the other members who were willing to hear all arguments) not putting it to a vote until all possible influences and pressures had been brought to bear to change the minds of the majority of the subcommittee. However, despite the pressures and late night sessions, a majority of 7 to 4 held steadfast against endorsing any such aid. They had been duly appointed to write a part of the platform, had arrived at their own views on the facts presented to them as to what was in the public interest, and refused to yield to the entreaties and blandishments of anyone.

The subcommittee majority maintained this stand basically for the following reasons:

First—they felt that Federal aid to schools was inconsistent with the time-honored tradition of our country and the spirit of our Constitution. Local support and control of education have been and are about the most cherished of governmental functions which, up to the present, the states have preserved.

Second—they believed that Federal aid to schools would ultimately be accompanied by Federal control.

While the present Congress could give financial support and also promise *no* Federal dictation, the very allocation of funds by the Federal government through the Federal and state departments of education would in and of itself shift administrative control from state legislative and local boards of education to Federal and state bureaucracies (departments of education). Moreover, since the action of one Congress is not binding on another, a new Congress could impose more serious and drastic controls on the recipients of the Federal grants.

Third—the uncontradicted facts showed that either the shortage of classroom space in the country had been grossly exaggerated or had dramatically decreased in the last six years. Thus in October of 1954 the Commissioner of Education, without any real survey, had testified to a deficiency of 370,000 classrooms in our elementary and secondary schools, which he expected to increase. Not to be outdone, the Democratic chairman of the Senate Education Committee, in 1955, predicted that by 1958 there would be a shortage of 600,000 classrooms.

In 1959, *however, the US Office of Education canvassed the state departments of education regarding the existing shortage. The replies showed a shortage of only* 132,400 *classrooms (which certainly was not understated), and that over the past five years, while enrollments in our secondary and elementary schools increased* 20%, *the number of available classrooms increased* 30%. *In December of* 1959 *the Chief of the Projection Section of the US Office of Education estimated the construction need in the ensuing* 10 *years at* 61,000 *classrooms annually, whereas over the past five years we had built* 68,000 *classrooms per year.*

The above information has now been corroborated by the message recently sent to the Congress by President Kennedy. In that message he estimated that over the next ten years the nation will need approximately 600,000 classrooms. That averages 60,000 a year. Because over the last five years we have been building an average of 68,000 per year, it is clear that for us to maintain our present rate of school construction would be more than adequate, and could even decline in the 1960's and still provide sufficient classrooms.

The plain fact, therefore, emerges that while there may have been an emergency a few years ago, that emergency has already passed. There is no present emergency situation, except in the minds of those who would like to substitute more centralized Federal government for less local autonomy and control.

And of even more importance, the evidence was clear that within two years the annual enrollment increases in the elementary and secondary schools will begin to decline. Between 1950-60 enrollments increased 44%. Between 1960-70

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the increase will only be between 22-20%, or one-half of what it has been the last decade. These figures could not be challenged, for the children are already born.

The majority of the committee was therefore of the clear opinion that we would successfully meet our educational needs without any program of general Federal aid. Indeed, they came to the conclusion that Federal aid, unless of *mammoth proportions, might slow down,* rather than accelerate, the construction of needed buildings. As support for this they had before them the report of the study committee on "Federal Responsibility in the Field of Education" made in 1955 to the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations appointed by President Eisenhower. That report read, in part:

> "Research does not sustain the contention that Federal funds are essential to support the elementary and secondary school system . . . *it is our opinion that* the appropriation of relatively small sums of Federal aid to school construction—amounting to 10 per cent or 20 per cent of the present state and local outlay of almost $2 billion a year*—may delay rather than advance school construction. Districts not eligible in one year may hold off their building plans on the chance of being able to buy their school houses at 50 cents on the dollar a year or two later."

Fourth—the majority of the committee was convinced, after a realistic appraisal of the situation, that unless heavy additional Federal taxes are levied, the Federal government is in a less favored position to assume this new financial obligation than are the states. In this respect, the committee learned that the *Federal indebtedness of our country for* present and accrued liabilities totals $750 billion, which is the equivalent of $4,100 for every man, woman and child in the United States. (Address of Hon. Maurice Stans, Director of the U.S. Bureau of the Budget, before the Executive Club of Chicago, January 29, 1960.) The Federal budget for 1962, which we are now facing, will probably have a deficit of $5 billion, or possibly more. Indeed, at the present time the interest alone on our national debt is twice the size of the entire Federal budget when Franklin Delano Roosevelt became President.

As opposed to this enormous debt and the rising crescendo of Federal obligations, the committee was aware that the total state and local governmental indebtedness is only $62 billion and that some states have no indebtedness of any kind. Further, the committee was informed, even on the basis of a canvass of state superintendents of education made by the US Office of Education, that only ½ of 1 per cent of all the school districts in the United States have reached the limit of their available bonded indebtedness for school construction. Finally, no state, acting through its legislature and authorized by its governor's signature, had ever applied to the Federal government for such aid.

Because of the long attempt to change the mind of the subcommittee, the recommendation of the majority was not presented to the full platform committee until the second day of the convention, and only 24 hours before the platform was read to the entire convention (it was, in fact, the final plank offered to the full committee). This was done after an all-night session at about 7 a.m. when everyone was exhausted.

After I presented the majority report *against* any program of general Federal aid to education for school buildings, a minority report *for* such aid was introduced by Senator Allott. After a spirited debate, in which the rigid House of Representatives rules limiting the time of debate were applied for the first time in the full committee, the minority view in favor of Federal aid for school construction—pacing it to the real needs of individual school districts in states and territories, and requiring state approval and participation—was adopted by a relatively small majority.

Incensed over the way in which debate for the first time had been cut off, and the circumstances under which the majority report of the subcommittee had been rejected, certain members of the full committee reserved the right to take this issue to the convention floor the following evening. This group huddled far into the night and the next day trying to decide whether to take such action.

After due deliberation, although they still believed that a majority of the convention delegates would be opposed to an invasion by the Federal government into this field of education, they decided not to bring the matter to the floor of the full convention because they had not time to prepare and print a minority report and it was obviously impossible to present clearly such an issue in a hall mainly arranged for television and not designed or suited for deliberate debate among the delegates themselves. Another impelling factor behind the decision was the realization that the platform, as adopted by the full platform committee, would not be read plank by plank to the convention but would be only summarized by the chairman (as was actually done). It would, therefore, have been practically impossible to have had a full and intelligent vote on this issue by the delegates themselves.

Therefore, the delegates to the convention had no real opportunity to vote for or against the wisdom of Federal aid either for school teachers' salaries or for school construction. Later, as spokesman for the majority of the subcommittee, I was asked by certain delegates to the convention to poll all of the delegates to ascertain their real views.

Accordingly, I sent a ballot to each of the 1,331 delegates to the Republican Convention asking his or her views regarding general Federal aid to education (1) for school teachers' salaries and (2) for school construction.

> **I have now received replies from over 63% of these delegates. These replies show that only 3% favored and 96% were against Federal aid for school teachers' salaries (1% not voting); that only 18% favored and 81% opposed Federal aid for school construction (1% not voting). Of even greater significance is the fact that the majority of responding delegates in every state voted decisively against Federal aid for both teachers' salaries and school construction.***

I therefore submit the following observations for the earnest and solemn consideration of the party and its representatives in the Congress of the United States.

1. The delegates of the convention are practically unanimously against the Federal government's undertaking the new obligation of subsidizing of school teachers' salaries. In this respect my poll confirmed the platform adopted at Chicago which did not favor Federal aid for school teachers' salaries.

2. The overwhelming and decisive vote of the delegates against Federal aid for school construction (81% against to 18% for) makes it plain that the particular plank adopted at Chicago on that subject was not a true reflection of the convictions of 4 out of every 5 delegates. I think we should recognize that with the situation as it was at Chicago it was virtually impossible for the delegates to then fairly vote on this subject; and they did not, in reality, vote on it. Members of Congress should not therefore feel bound by this plank but should give due consideration to the expressed view of 81% of the responding delegates. It should further be observed that even the platform as formally adopted does not accord with the recommendations made by President Ken-

* A National Education Association Survey published in December of 1960 revealed that school construction during 1960-61 had reached a new high of $3,094,000,000 in capital outlay; which suggests that local communities, now that they know the problem, are responding to the need.

* The ballots have been kept intact and are available for your inspection and audit should you desire to do so.

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nedy, for his proposal does not "pace" Federal aid to "the real needs of individual school districts."

3. Using this unfortunate incident in the Chicago convention (where the platform expressed a view opposite to that of over 80% of the delegates) as a lesson for valuable learning, I suggest that national conventions in the future be arranged so as to permit orderly, intelligent deliberation and debate. At present we seem to be more interested in creating a television spectacle, the arrangements for which as presently made practically prohibit thoughtful deliberative procedures on important public issues.

MAY I SUGGEST further that this would not detract from, but would augment intelligent public interest. For in these days of television, what patriotic American citizen would not sooner see and have more confidence in a deliberative debate on the national issues, than the pandemonium which too often prevailed in both political conventions? And when the issues are thus resolved in an orderly manner, the public from now on will have ample opportunity to hear those issues discussed by the Presidential candidate who is the choice of the convention.

The fact that the Republican convention is against Federal aid both for school teachers' salaries and school construction does not, of course, mean that Republicans are opposed to proper increases in teachers' salaries or against the needed construction of new school houses. It merely means that with a Federal indebtedness of $750 billion for *present* and *accrued* liabilities, they believe it is time for the Federal government to put its own house in financial order before assuming untold new financial responsibilities. They believe, along with all prior Presidents of the United States, that a program of general Federal aid is not a proper function of the Federal government. Not until the present, has any President ever proposed such a program. Indeed, many of them have vigorously opposed such a course.

In 1806 Thomas Jefferson clearly indicated that a constitutional amendment would be required to take the Federal government into education:

> "Education is here placed among the articles of public care, not that it would be proposed to take its ordinary branches out of the hands of private enterprise, which manages so much better all the concerns to which it is equal; but a public institution can alone supply those sciences which, though rarely called for, are yet necessary to complete the circle, all the parts of which contribute to the improvement of the country, and some of them to its preservation . . . . I suppose an amendment to the constitution, by consent of the States, necessary, because the objects now recommended are not among those enumerated in the constitution, and to which it permits the public moneys to be applied." (*The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. 10, Paul L. Ford, editor, G. P. Putnam Sons, New York, 1905)

The late Elbert D. Thomas (Democrat) former US Senator from the State of Utah, recognized Jefferson's philosophy when he wrote:

> "Jefferson thought of education as a function of the States, rather than of the Federal government, and it is natural that he should do so. Before there was a Federation, he was already interested in education, and his later detailed plans for an educational system were built up around the State as a unit. There is no evidence that he came to think of the Federal Government as in any way responsible for the education of the citizens of the country." (Elbert D. Thomas, *Thomas Jefferson*, Modern Age Books, New York, 1942, p. 73)

Woodrow Wilson, while still a professor of government, wrote a powerful statement that deserves to be remembered forever:

> "Certain it is that there is more than one state which, though abundantly able to pay for an educational system of the greatest efficiency, fails to do so, and contents itself with imperfect temporary make-shifts because there are immense surpluses every year in the national treasury which, rumor and unauthorized promises say, may be distributed amongst the states in *aid of education*. If the Federal government were more careful to keep apart from every strictly local scheme of improvement, this culpable and demoralizing policy could scarcely live. States would cease to wish, because they would cease to hope, to be stipendiaries of the Union, and would address themselves with diligence to their proper duties, with much more benefit to themselves and to the federal system." (Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government*, 15th edition, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York, 1900, pp. 29-30)

In July, 1949, while President of Columbia University, Dwight D. Eisenhower wrote:

> "In my own mind I am perfectly clear as to basic principle and have more than once made public statements to the effect that I definitely oppose every unnecessary intervention of the Federal Authority and the Federal Treasury in what should be local business and local responsibility . . . I would flatly oppose any grant by the Federal Government to all States in the Union for educational purposes. Such policy would create an ambition—almost a requirement—to spend money freely under the impulse of competition with other localities in the country. It would completely decry and defeat the watchful economy that comes about through local supervision over local expenditures of local revenues." (*Congressional Record*, 81st Congress, First Session, 1949, p. A3690)

In line with this philosophy of Jefferson, Wilson, Eisenhower and all prior Presidents, the Republican delegates believe, now that the public has become aware of our educational needs, that local and state governments are meeting and in the future will more adequately meet the challenge. This is shown by a number of studies:

A. Over the last 30 years the increase in salaries of school teachers was 106% in constant dollars. Other State and local employees had an increase of 58% and Federal civilian employees 73%. *

B. The average annual salary of school teachers rose from $3,126 in 1950-51 to $5,389 in 1960-61, or 72.4%. The number of teachers with salaries below $3,500 decreased from 62% in 1952-53 to 9.6% in 1960-61, and the number with salaries of $4,500 or more rose from 13% to 63% during this same period. **

C. School expenditures by the respective states, estimated at $16.4 billion this year, are up $1.2 billion over the previous year and $9.9 billion over 1950-51—an amazing increase of 153% in one decade, whereas enrollment increased only 44%. In addition, capital outlays for elementary and secondary buildings, sites, and equipment are increasing at about $3 billion annually. ***

D. Over the past twenty years school enrollments grew 43%, but school funds increased 185% (in price-adjusted dollars).**** Looking ahead to 1970, enrollment will climb approximately 20% while school outlays are likely to double if current trends continue.

> **President Kennedy's proposal to Congress to authorize $5.6 billion in Federal grants and loans (accompanied by carefully prepared and nation-wide publicity indicating how much each state would receive) is the most seductive legislative recommendation on education ever presented to the Congress.**

Offered with utter disregard of the financial integrity of our Federal government and without even a suggestion as to how the money will ever be raised, the White House scheme flagrantly attempts to marshal public support and purchase congressional votes by (1) holding before each college administrator the additional bait of $350 for each Federal scholarship student on the campus, even though schools have up to the present educated these students as a public service; (2) making funds available to all the states by com-

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* *Taxes for Schools*, Roger A. Freeman, Institute for Social Science Research, Washington, D. C., 1960

** National Education Association, "Estimate of School Statistics" (1960-61)

*** *Taxes for the Schools*, by Roger A. Freeman, Institute for Social Science Research, Washington, D. C., 1960

**** Ibid.

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pletely ignoring the desegregation issue (despite the well-known views of the Kennedy Administration on this subject); (3) promising a continuation of state and local control even though every responsible legislative and administrative official knows that if the Federal government puts up the money, Federal control is not only proper, but ultimately inevitable.

To the extent the proffered Federal aid is a "loan" to the states, it is fictitious, for the states might as well borrow the money from other sources. To the extent it is a grant, it is a delusion, for whether funds are advanced by the Federal government, or the state and local governments, they will still have to be paid through tax revenues wrung from already overburdened citizens. If additional taxes for education are necessary, and I for one believe that in certain areas they may be, let them be imposed locally where the real needs may be assessed, costs kept to a minimum and local control permanently preserved.

As a taxpayer, the proposal offends my sense of fiscal responsibility. As an educator, it offends my sense of moral integrity, for my influence and views are not subject to presidential monetary barter. As a lover of my country, I very much prefer that the future of my children and the future of my country be premised on the American philosophy of President Kennedy as proclaimed in his Inaugural Address last month to "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country."

This high ideal, which struck a responsive chord in all Americans, regardless of party, is now immediately liquidated as its author surrenders to the "Socialistic manifesto" (or Democratic platform) of Los Angeles. I hope and pray that patriotic Americans in the Congress, of both parties, will defeat this new intrusion of the Federal government into the last time-honored sanctuary of local and state governments—education.

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Summary of replies made by delegates to Republican National Convention to questionnaire of Ernest L. Wilkinson on whether they favor Federal aid for teachers' salaries and school construction.

	Ballots Sent Out	For School Construction	Against School Construction	For Teachers' Salaries	Against Teachers' Salaries	Others (both issues)	Total Ballots Returned
Alabama	22		12		12		12
Alaska	6		5		5		5
Arizona	14		11		11		11
Arkansas	16	1	9		10		10
California	70	11	26	2	37	2	39
Colorado	18	2	5		7		7
Connecticut	22		3		3		3
Delaware	12	3	3	2	4		6
Florida	26	2	19		21		21
Georgia	24	4	12	2	14		16
Hawaii	12	4	5	1	8		9
Idaho	14	2	9	1	10		11
Illinois	60	9	18		29	2	29
Indiana	32	1	20		21		21
Iowa	26	4	15	1	17	1	19
Kansas	22	1	12		13		13
Kentucky	26	9	9		19	1	19
Louisiana	26	1	21	1	21		22
Maine	16	5	4		9		9
Maryland	24	6	9		14	1	15
Massachusetts	38	7	17	1	23	2	25
Michigan	46	10	24	1	33		34
Minnesota	28	5	14		19		19
Mississippi	12		11		11		11
Missouri	26	3	11		14		14
Montana	14		11		11		11
Nebraska	18		11		11		11
Nevada	12		10		10		10
Carried Forward	682	90	336	12	417	9	432
Brought Forward	682	90	336	12	417	9	432
New Hampshire	14	4	4	1	9	2	10
New Jersey	38	6	14	2	18		20
New Mexico	14	1	12	1	12		13
New York	96	6	18	1	22	1	24
North Carolina	28	3	18		21		21
North Dakota	14	2	8		10		10
Ohio	56	4	26	1	29		30
Oklahoma	22	2	15		17		17
Oregon	18	2	10		12		12
Pennsylvania	70	7	38	3	42		45
Rhode Island	14	2	5		7		7
South Carolina	13		11		11		11
South Dakota	14	2	9		11		11
Tennessee	28	4	14	2	16		18
Texas	54	1	46		46	1	47
Utah	14	1	10		12	1	12
Vermont	12	2	4		5	1	6
Virginia	30	3	18		20	1	21
Washington	24		14		15	1	15
West Virginia	22	2	16		18		18
Wisconsin	30		21		21		21
Wyoming	12	1	9		10		10
District of Columbia	8	1	6		7		7
Puerto Rico	3	1	1		2		2
Virgin Islands	1						
TOTAL	1331	147	683	23	810	17	840
		18%	81%	3%	96%	2%	63%

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

I believe that exploitation of human needs and problems for the purpose of completely centralizing and federalizing our governmental activities in this country represents a cure that is far deadlier than the existing ills.

—Congressman August E. Johansen

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March 17, 1961

Reischauer to Japan?

By Raymond Moley

It has been generally understood that the President will nominate as Ambassador to Japan, to replace Douglas MacArthur, II, Dr. Edwin O. Reischauer. He is Professor of Japanese at Harvard and director of the Center for East Asian Studies. He has spent a great deal of time in Japan, has many friends there among the educated elite, and has written books on the Orient. He is married to an aristocratic Japanese.

It has been pointed out that he has been an advocate of recognition by the United States of the Red Chinese government. Also, in the magazine Foreign Affairs he has sharply criticized former Ambassador MacArthur for having made "a shocking misestimate" of the riots in Japan which prevented President Eisenhower's visit in 1960.

In the Japan Quarterly for January-March, 1961 —a journal published in Tokyo—he has elaborated his estimate of the cause of the riotous disturbances which interrupted the normal operations of representative government in Japan and were a sorry blow to our relations with Japan. In that article he said that the American acceptance of the idea that the riots were Communist-inspired "seems absurd to those thousands of Japanese who participated in the demonstrations." Then he accepts this point of view of the Japanese "who participated in the demonstrations" by concluding that the American view of Communist inspiration was "mistaken."

This is hardly a judicial manner for an individual who is supposed to be qualified as an ambassador to draw a conclusion in so important a matter.

Let us see what the opinion of the Japanese government was concerning the origins of the riots. And note, also, that that government took its case to the voters of Japan last November and received an overwhelming vote of confidence.

On a visit to Japan in 1958 I spent hours with the security police of Japan and they told me, with clear evidence to support them, that through the radical political and labor elements in Japan, Peiping was pouring money into Japan to create just such demonstrations against the democratically elected government. The inability of the security police to prevent the riots was due not to their lack of information concerning the causes, but to the laws of Japan imposed under our occupation which rendered the police helpless in such situations.

It is true that Professor Reischauer goes on in his article in the Japan Quarterly gently to remind

FOR WHOM THE BELL TOLLS

the extremists that theirs is not the true way of democracy. But the tone in which he reminds them of this fact is that of so many soft-headed Americans who see every left-wing outbreak abroad as the mistaken but rather innocent reaction to injustice by those in power. This sort of gentle admonition merely excites those to whom it is addressed to more violent convictions that they are on the side of the angels.

Presumably, Professor Reischauer should be reminded by the Administration of which he will probably be a part that the recognition of Red China by the United States and admission to the UN cannot be accomplished by a mere scratch of the Presidential pen. A solemn treaty is involved as well as the Charter of the UN. In that document, to which we are attached by the treaty procedure, it is provided that the Republic of China shall be a member of the Security Council. That means the government presently established in Formosa. As a member of the Security Council, it has a veto as well as the US and the Soviet. To change the Charter to oust the Republic of China would involve a two-thirds majority in the United States Senate.

It would be unfortunate to have as ambassador to a country which means so much to our security in the Far East a man who holds views so contrary to established American policy.

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Organized Crime

By Walter Trohan

A dynamic program to destroy the roots of organized crime in America by deporting or denaturalizing 110 big shot racketeers and subversives has been gathering dust in the department of justice under three administrations.

On October 2, 1952, James Patrick McGranery, attorney general under Harry S. Truman, announced his plan to deprive racketeers of their American citizenship, if obtained by naturalization, and return them to their native lands. He also planned to deport those who never had been naturalized. The plan was widely hailed in the press.

By good fortune, the law's delays, or sinister design, the marked hoodlums have managed to dodge the deportation they mortally fear and dread as the worst fate that could befall them except death. The McGranery drive still remains as a sure road for coping with crime, although Attorney General Robert Kennedy is pondering some dramatic means of coping with the problem, including the formation of a crime commission.

McGranery suspected that in some mysterious ways the mighty power of the political or money influence of the world of organized crime reached into his department to block his deportation drive. McGranery launched his drive four months before the Truman administration went out of power. He did shake up his department in an effort to speed deportations and compiled a list of 100 department lawyers whose departure he felt would serve the cause of justice, although he did not charge they were interested in blocking his program.

McGranery presented his list of lawyers and his list of men marked for deportation to his successor, Herbert Brownell. It was there for William Rogers, who succeeded Brownell. Nothing was done under eight years of Republican rule. The files are now available to Attorney General Kennedy along with the deportation program.

The importance of the deportation program is evident from the fact that among the 73 underworld figures who attended the famous crime syndicate meeting in Apalachin, New York, November 14, 1957, no less than 11 had been marked for deportation by McGranery. Had deportations been carried out there might not have been a meeting to fix territories and plan crimes.

Within the month the first of the men on McGranery's list, Paul [The Waiter] Ricca, former Al Capone lieutenant, was ordered deported by Federal Judge Joseph S. Perry in Chicago after Ricca finished a three year sentence for income tax evasion. Ricca figured in one of the most startling parole releases in criminal history, along with Louis [Little New York] Campagna, Charles [Cherry Nose] Gioe, and Phil D'Andrea, who died in 1952.

The four were among five Capone hoodlums sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and fined $10,000 each December 31, 1943, after convictions in New York under the anti-racketeering statute. They began serving their sentences March 8, 1944, and were released by unanimous decision of the Federal parole board August 13, 1947, one month beyond one-third of their sentences.

James L. Doherty, *Tribune* crime reporter, now retired, conducted an inquiry into the paroles which merited a Pulitzer prize. His investigations brought an inquiry by a House committee, after six figure legal payments were tied into the release, payments which came close to associates of the White House and justice department.

When he became attorney general, McGranery ordered the paroles revoked. The hoodlums carried their fight to the courts. In Chicago, Federal Judge Michael L. Igoe on September 9, 1952, held the government had no right to revoke the parole. McGranery ordered an appeal. The government had until November 8, 1952, to file an appeal, but failed to do so.

McGranery investigated and found that a telegram was sent from the department, without his authorization, to Otto Kerner, then United States attorney in Chicago, advising him the justice department had decided not to appeal. McGranery's investigation disclosed that a justice department attorney had sat on the case for two months without action.

The offending attorney, still in the department, contended he had a large volume of work and inadequate assistance. In an official statement the department said "the delay was avoidable and not excusable."

The department still has to take the way McGranery pointed out for striking at organized crime, a route which found wide favor in the press and legal circles.

If municipal taxes get any higher, the planners may have to cut back to projects that actually are necessary. —Cincinnati Enquirer.

CURRENT NEW FRONTIER THEME: Economic distress is almost as great as when F.D.R. became President. J.F.K.'s social reforms must be passed. Business improvement, when it comes, should be credited to J.F.K.

Algerian Preparedness

From the New York Daily News

If independence comes to Algeria, the National Liberation Front, which has been agitating the cause, is all prepared. At demonstrations in recent weeks, a significant change was introduced in the flag of the movement, which previously consisted of equal blocks of white and green, with a six pointed star above a crescent, both in red. Above both of these there has now been added an outstretched hand, with a distinctly grasping aspect.

Unless we misinterpret, this emblem means that an independent Algeria, if it materializes, is prepared to accept American foreign aid.

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A Reply to Schlesinger

Answering Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s assertion that a welfare state is the best defense against communism, Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S. C.) said:

"Not only is the welfare state no defense against communism, but there is a serious question as to whether, in practical effect, the welfare state is even an alternative to communism. Both, in essence, are founded on the identical theories of state socialism and are equally antagonistic to the concept of private property. Under communism all property is vested in the state; under the welfare state, the outward vestiges or title to property remain in the individual, but all meaningful attributes of property are exercised by the state through regulation, control, and taxation.

"Whatever differences might exist are differences in form, rather than substance. The basic premise of both communism and welfare statism is that individual responsibility and initiative are unreliable for accomplishment of the goal for society which both profess, and their goal is conceived solely in terms of materialistic values. Welfare statism must, therefore, be equated with communism in its mistrust of individual liberty and reliance on state control . . . .

"If Mr. Schlesinger really meant to imply that we could avert communism by embracing welfare statism, then he is probably correct; for it is improbable that efforts to replace a political system with an identical one under another name, or with one differing only in form, would ever be attempted. A defense against communism, however, the welfare state could not be; for between the two there may be a distinction, but it is a distinction without a difference."

Professors and Rich Men's Sons

Respectful as I am of professors and dazzled as I am by sons of riches, I often wonder why both of these groups tend to mistake socialism for liberalism and to presume that conservatism is a cuss word. Perhaps it is because both, in spite of their special advantages, are underprivileged. They have no direct contact with the competitive, private free enterprise system which makes America click.

—John Temple Graves

Free Economy

What makes a free economy? First of all, a free economy is a decentralized economy. Decentralized means that we have millions of centers of initiative, instead of only one. It means variety that stimulates creative thinking. "Crazy ideas" have a chance that might never survive scrutiny by an entrenched bureaucracy. Decentralization means making the fullest use of our individual capacities.

—Henry C. Wallich
in "The Cost of Freedom."

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Wisconsin Drives Out Industry

From the Chicago Tribune

Three Wisconsin manufacturers have decided to move their factories to Illinois: one from Kenosha to Antioch, one from Racine to McHenry, and one from Beloit to just south of the border.

Each of them gives as his principal reason Wisconsin's taxes, which are already among the highest in the country. The tax rate on business income of more than $6,000 is 7 per cent—a figure exceeded only in Alaska, Idaho and Minnesota. Other state taxes are also high, and increasing local property taxes have added to the burdens of doing business in Wisconsin.

To make matters worse, Governor Gaylord Nelson warned last month that if the state is to continue its present services, it will be necessary to raise taxes by another 70 million dollars in the next two years.

Illinois has no income tax and its over-all rate of state and local taxes is well below the national average. This, more than anything else, tells why the three Wisconsin manufacturers—along with many others—have chosen to come to Illinois. By doing so, they bring more revenue to the state, more business to its business men, and more jobs for its workers.

Closed Shop for Teachers?

From the Council for Basic Education Bulletin

We have heard of too many cases of pressure upon teachers to join "professional" organizations not to make some mention of what we consider to be a most unethical practice in a profession which should, at least as much as any other, keep itself spotless. Administrators "urge" their teachers to join local, state and national professional organizations. The "urging" is sometimes only that. Often it is a greater pressure, carrying with it a thinly disguised threat.

It might be argued that it is necessary all but to coerce teachers, as it is the feebleminded, for their own good; but many of these organizations are not truly teacher-organizations, but groups managed by administrators. Wherever a teacher's interest might be divergent from the administrator's, these groups are not likely to be of use to a teacher. Further, all the professional organizations have either stated or implicit philosophies of education. It is conceivable that a good teacher might be able to subscribe to the philosophy of one or more teacher-organizations.

The usual stick that an administrator is able to carry is the assigning of dirty jobs: cafeteria duty, extra study halls, the less interesting classes, etc.; but one teacher writes us that this past fall her superintendent held up her contract for two months in an attempt to pressure her into joining a national organization.

As the administrators quite correctly urge teachers to teach good citizenship and ethical behavior by example, we would remind them that the example must begin at the top.

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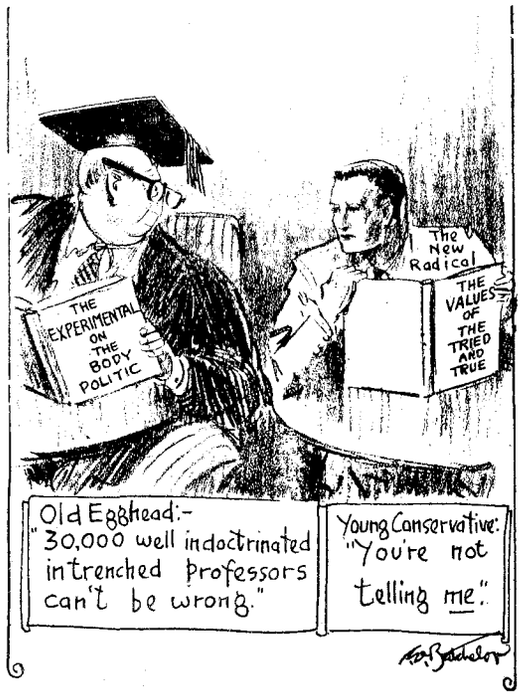
THE EXPERIMENTAL ON THE BODY POLITIC
The New Radical
THE VALUES OF THE TRIED AND TRUE
Old Egghead:- "30,000 well indoctrinated intrenched professors can't be wrong."
Young Conservative: "You're not telling me".

HUMAN EVENTS School of Journalism

James A. Garfield once said the ideal college would be a log in the woods with a student sitting on one end and Mark Hopkins, the Socratic teacher, sitting on the other end. The HUMAN EVENTS School of Journalism is little more than that. It is not accredited. No credits are given.

But this informal "school"—if it can be called that—invites applications for the summer session from talented young men and women interested in political journalism. They will come to Washington for three months, six months, or a year. Scholarships available.

The purpose of the school is to give potential journalists a background course in the operations of the Federal government. Leading members of Congress, Washington news correspondents, and visiting national personalities express their opinions and tell their experiences in question and answer sessions. Students learn from first-hand observation about the powerful forces pressuring lawmakers and government agencies. Writing assignments are given. To develop habits of thoroughness, each student is given a single subject as his specialty.

A Fighting Conservative

'Mac' Matheson

The following are quotes from a campaign speech of Mac Matheson, GOP candidate for the House seat in Arizona vacated by Interior Secretary Udall:

"Great public furor was aroused a generation ago when F.D.R. attempted to gain control of the Judicial branch of the government . . . . the Supreme Court. Great public furor should be issuing today in the packing of the Rules Committee of the House with 'liberal' membership, for this also is a big step toward undermining the principle of separation of powers. This principle is the very bulwark of defense against Dictatorship in this country."

"Through intimidation—using Federal patronage as the club—Kennedy and his cohorts are determined to punish those Democrats who vote independently of his wishes. One leading Democrat in the Administration told United Press International that he was personally delivering to the White House a list of the 64 Democrats who voted against the Rules Packing which he hoped would 'be checked every time a Democrat comes looking for patronage, for a project for his district, or for ANYTHING!' "

"A Democrat Congressman from Arizona would be compelled to knuckle under to the Kennedy Administration regardless of whether the issues would be in the best interests of the people of Arizona. Any Democrat elected at this time to represent the 2nd District of Arizona could only RUBBER STAMP the Kennedy proposals or face political suicide."

"The salary paid a Congressman is too high a price to pay for a 'Rubber Stamp.' If the people of Arizona want to send a 'Rubber Stamp' to Congress I would suggest they buy two from an office supply store, one saying 'YEA' and one saying 'NAY.' They both could be mailed to the Kennedy puppeteers for less than $2.00."

The conservative "Revolt on the Campus" * owes much of its impetus to HUMAN EVENTS. Its beginning is usually credited to an article entitled "For Our Children's Children," published in HUMAN EVENTS on September 6, 1950. The author, Frank Chodorov, suggested that the time was ripe for student revolt against the prevailing liberal orthodoxy in the colleges. He suggested organization of the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists. The idea was shot out into space with only the dimmest hope that anything would come of it. But "ideas have consequences." The response, only a dribble at first, grew until about a year later, Frank C. Hanighen signed the articles of incorporation for the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists (ISI), and temporary headquarters—desk space—were set up in HUMAN EVENTS office.

The secretary—to be paid only when and if funds permitted—was Vic Milione. Today, under Milione's brilliant guidance, ISI has 12,000 members in 50 colleges and is located—appropriately—on Independence Square, Philadelphia.

Another youth organization is Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), headed by Douglas Caddy. YAF has 21,000 members in 104 colleges.

On March 3rd of this non-election year, YAF held a rally in Manhattan Center, New York, filling its 4,000 seats and turning away 5,000. Next year, it expects to fill Madison Square Garden—and it undoubtedly will. The liberals and Communists used to be able easily to get out such crowds in New York City. Now they can do so only with great effort and only at the peak of excitement in hot political campaigns. Conservatives can perform this feat during a "quiet" period.

Today the dynamic political force among college students is conservatism, not liberalism. Furthermore, it is an uncompromising conservatism, not the "modern" Republican variety. As a result, liberals have discovered that their days of campus thought-control are over.

* Title of a forthcoming book to be published soon by the Henry Regnery Co., Chicago. Author is M. Stanton Evans, who at 26 was named editor of the Indianapolis News. Prior to going to Indianapolis, Evans was for three years managing editor of HUMAN EVENTS. He has played an important role in activating conservative youth.

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Will 'Neutralism' Blind the New Frontier?

By Holmes Alexander

Neutralism, which was practically a cuss word under Secretary Dulles, is beginning to take on the luster of gospel in the New Frontier.

"We need to orient ourselves a little on the word 'neutralism,'" said Professor Gale McGee (D.-Wyo.) on the Senate floor earlier this month. "For in my judgment a united, stable, independent nationalism could easily be a neutral Africa as well."

McGee was no sooner off his feet than another of the Democratic Professors, Mike Mansfield of Montana, was up to commend and congratulate him. As if that weren't enough, the Foreign Relations committee a few days later entertained Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski, who briefed the members on a report called "Ideology and Foreign Affairs" prepared by the Center for International Affairs of Harvard University. This report turned out to be a "think" piece which might have been composed by a flag sitter on an Ivory Tower—it was that lofty and cerebral. Again, the theme was neutralism.

". . . the United States in its policy toward underdeveloped areas, should foster the independence of these countries without, as a general rule, seeking from them a formal commitment to the West . . . the US (should) display tolerance for governments which do not follow the western democratic model as long as the regimes act constructively to cope with the problems of their societies and do not subordinate themselves to the Communist bloc."

Well, there is a great deal more of the same. We are advised to tolerate not only anti-democratic (dictatorship) regimes, but also anti-capitalistic (socialist) regimes. The inference is that even Communist regimes are tolerable, as in Yugoslavia, just so they are not strongly allied with the Bear or the Tiger. It is even suggested that the Bear and the Tiger have neutralistic spots on matters where their interests clash—and, for example, where Russian or Chinese nationalism differ from their communism, that's a part of the Sino-Russian monster we can safely pet.

Well, there's something to be said for neutralism, and I have done so on other occasions. Mr. Dulles was never very successful in making big countries like India hang their heads in shame for being neutral. The new Administration is not likely to do any better with the new African nations. In Michener's book, "Hawaii," some of the primeval peoples banish their tribal gods and take new ones when crops fail or the weather is unsatisfactory. It is not surprising that our modern intellectuals are busting up the old altars and are enshrining the shibboleth—neutralism.

Yes, but nobody ever conquered in the sign of the cipher. Historically, the great movements and conquests all moved behind symbols of strong conviction. Men have followed their ark and covenant, their cross and crescent, their banner. They have "moved forward," as Candidate Kennedy said all last autumn, but they had to have battle cries, creeds —even delusions.

I never heard of any system overcoming another system in a tolerant, unemotional, uncommitted fashion. Certainly it's hard to see how the American foreign service officer or the American taxpayer can be aroused to make the necessary sacrifices unless he feels very strongly about the things which his country is calling upon him to do. The prospect of battling Communism "for the minds of men" without getting het up in favor of democracy and capitalism is not very inviting.

This will be called spoil-sport writing, and I hate to take any fun out of life for the Frontiersmen. But there's something a little contradictory about the brimstone oaths to win the world for freedom, and this new religion of love-that-neutral.

Perhaps the explanation lies in the unstable nature of political intellectualism. In the same speech, Senator McGee spoke with seeming scorn of the so-called "devil" thesis of history—wherein people at war or in struggle simplify their mass emotions by seeing a "devil" in the enemy.

Being no intellectual myself, I ask, what's wrong with this old-fashioned, time-tested thesis? I doubt if we'll ever win the world for democracy and freedom until we see a "devil" in every dictator, socialist and Communist.

Latest Kennedy joke: "First we're going to have Jack for eight years. Then we're going to have Bobby for eight years. Then we're going to have Teddy for eight years. Then it'll be 1984."

How Reds Operate

During the nine years I posed as a Red, every Soviet Agent with whom I came in contact, in my supposed conspiratorial Red mission, functioned from the Red embassies and consulates, and from the Communist staffs of the United Nations. Others operated in Communist Red Cross and Relief Missions travelling in this country, industrial and agricultural missions, student exchanges and scientific expeditions, Soviet dance groups; in fact, in every legal channel which we, under the guise of "good diplomacy," foolishly opened to those murderous conspirators. —Matt Cvetic

In Russia a commissar asked a peasant how the new potato crop production was coming.

"Under our glorious leader, Khrushchev," answered the peasant, "our potato crop has been miraculous! If we were to put all the potatoes in a pile they would make a mountain reaching to the feet of God!"

"But you know there isn't any God!" said the commissar.

"There aren't any potatoes either," replied the peasant.

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Missile Workers Get Paid Up to $1,000 per Week

By Victor Riesel

Some of the unionized craftsmen working on skies-scraping projects at Cape Canaveral and other missile and rocket-testing bases have been paid as much as $1,000 a week. Other construction workers have struggled along on six to eight hundred weekly.

This is not the average wage—but investigators who have just returned from the Cape reported to Senator John McClellan that the big pie-in-the-sky project wages warrant a national probe.

The six-hundred to thousand-dollar-a-week pay checks result from enforced overtime pay.

This runs from time and a half on some night shift work to double time on Sundays and holidays. On double-time days some construction workers can roll up almost $100 extra at their rates, the world's highest.

Pentagon demands for overtime work have been provoked by a truly endless series of strikes—some authorized, some wildcat, but all costly in time as well as money. Since all rocket and missile experimentation and construction is geared to a target date—frequently affected by the Soviet's cold war propaganda tactics—our armed forces call in their construction workers sometimes for almost round-the-clock activity after the stoppages.

Involved have been the highest paid of the best-paid construction craftsmen. But even the semi-skilled walk away with big pay checks after a stoppage. The unions most frequently involved have been the electrical brotherhood, the pipe fitters, the iron workers, the carpenters, and the hod carriers and common laborers.

Senator McClellan was also angered by what he himself learned at the Cape during a recent two-day visit and he plans to return with the sheaf of reports just handed him. He and some of his Government Operations Committee, including Senator Karl Mundt, want to know the cause of the numerous walkouts, wholesale sick reports and wildcats. The Senators and their investigators know the effect of the stoppages, which have eaten into the Pentagon appropriation.

Tens of millions of dollars have been spent in enforced overtime pay and on the "cleaning up" operations after these strikes. This overtime and mopping-up cost is part of the $100,000,000 in extra bills which the missile construction program is now expected to cost above the original estimate.

The Committee, knowing the effect, now wants to know the cause. As of now, open hearings, at which high Pentagon, industrial and union brass will testify, probably will start the first week in April.

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LATEST QUOTE: "If this Administration is not successful, the country will not be successful. There will be nothing left of this country in 1964 if this Administration is not successful."

—Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy

What the Senators want to know is—why have there been over 125 strikes at just four major bases since July 1, 1959? These have cost well over 100,000 man days. To make this up takes a lot of overtime.

The air bases hardest and most frequently hit are the Canaveral and Patrick Air Force complex; and the ballistic missile launching pads and testing sites at Vandenberg in California, Warren in Wyoming, and Offutt in Nebraska.

Typical are three strikes at the Canaveral complex which over some months slowed up work on the Titan missile and the Centaur and Saturn rockets. During one construction workers' strike some carpenters went out at dawn. Fve hours later nearly 1,000 members of other unions had respected the pickets. Work was either slowed or entirely stopped for 12 days, depending where you looked.

Not long after that hundreds again obeyed a picket line of a handful of electricians and pipe fitters who objected to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's bringing in some of its own technicians. Another time, towards year end a few ironworkers delayed work for almost a week when they walked out in protest against the awarding of a tiny ($25,000) contract to a northern firm with which they had been feuding. There have also been scores of strikes resulting from one union's objecting to certain work being given to members of another union.

Now the Senate will look into just how the local "little" unions and their virtually unknown officials have developed such power—and why this costs the people (including other union members, of course) so much in defense expenditures.

How Did They Ever Do It?

From the New York Daily News

The more you hear about government's "duty" to provide cradle-to-grave security for virtually all of us, the more you wonder how Americans of George Washington's time ever survived.

As children, they had no palatial schools for the study of "life adjustment" and the slighting of reading, writing and figuring. There were few if any scholarships to what colleges existed.

Adults in the first President's era had no Social Security, jobless insurance, free food, socialized medicine, or public old age assistance. Life was tough any way you looked at it—too tough to be endured, if we're to believe the current peddlers of the welfare state philosophy.

Yet those Americans bore this supposedly frightful burden somehow. They even managed, with some French help, to perform the supreme feat, for that time, of freeing themselves from British rule and setting up their own government.

How in blazes did they ever do it, anyway?

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The Civil Defense Boondoggle

By Senator Stephen Young

(*The following statement was made by Senator Stephen Young (D.-Ohio) on the floor of the Senate February* 16. *It appeared on page* 2077 *of the* Congressional Record *for that date.*)

Mr. Young. Mr. President, it was recently proposed by the civil defense director of Cuyahoga County, in which the city of Cleveland is located, that $90,000 of taxpayers' money be used to hire 12 additional full-time employees.

Half of this money was to come from the Federal Government under a matching grant program, and the other $45,000 from the city of Cleveland. Fortunately for the taxpayers, Cleveland's outstanding and extremely capable mayor, Anthony Celebrezze, refused to allocate money to hire these needless additional employees. His action made Cleveland the first city in the Nation to reject the subsidy which is an outrageous throw-away of Federal funds.

It is my fervent hope that mayors and municipal officials in other American cities will follow Mayor Celebrezze's lead in saving taxpayers' money.

Mrs. Dorothy Koller, the local civil defense director in Akron, Ohio, also exhibited good sense in refusing to take the same position as her colleague 25 miles away in Cleveland, Ohio. In turning down the $8,250 allocated for Akron, she announced that she was doing so because she did not want money to hire more help she did not need.

It is ridiculous to even consider hiring more useless civil defense employees to sit around and do nothing waiting for the bomb to fall. We have too many boondogglers doing this at the present time. We should be more concerned with getting rid of them and thereby saving taxpayers' money, than with hiring people to waste money and confuse the public with their silly schemes.

Mr. President, throughout Inaugural Day from morning on, callers at the Washington, D. C. Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization could not get an answer. Travel was difficult. Much snow had fallen. Then, on January 27, there was a 4-inch snowfall and at 3:45 p.m. callers found that paid civil defense personnel in the District of Columbia had closed that office and all had gone home because of the snowfall.

Mr. President, in my home city of Cleveland our service department within 2 hours would have cleaned up snowfalls such as prevailed in Washington, D. C., on the day before the inauguration and on January 27. Despite the money the Congress has bestowed on the officials and the government of the District of Columbia, they neglect such matters.

Mr. President, I do not wish to be giving a tip to the leaders of the Soviet Union, but it seems that in times of bad weather in Washington, D. C., the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization is closed. In other words, these paid officials sitting around at their desks waiting for the bomb to fall scurry home when the emergency of bad weather occurs. If they cannot cope with their duties in a minor snowfall, how can we expect them to do so in a nuclear holocaust?

Mr. President, an excellent editorial, "Civil Defense Again," was published in the Springfield *Daily News,* an outstanding Ohio newspaper on February 9, 1961. Bert Teeters, the editor of this newspaper, has again shown his keen awareness of the civil defense fiasco.

I believe this editorial convincingly points out the absurdity of the matching grant program for additional employees and the need for spending funds more wisely. I commend this to my colleagues in the Senate, and ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the *Record* as part of my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the *Record* as follows:

The Akron *Beacon-Journal* "let the cat out of the bag," although that was not its intention.

In an editorial page article by a *Beacon-Journal* staffer, Ray C. Sutliff, the other day, appeared this information:

"In one of his continuing attacks on Federal expenditures for civil defense, US Senator Stephen Young, of Cleveland, cited Mrs. Dorothy Koller, Akron's civil defense director, as being 'fed up with the silly schemes and needless spending of tax dollars.' Young commended Mrs. Koller for rejecting $8,250 of Federal funds which had been allocated to Akron.

"Since December 7, there has been snow on the ground continuously except for a 6-hour period on January 18."

The conclusion one obviously must reach is that the Akron newspaper and perhaps some of its citizens are not so much concerned with defense protection in case of war as they are to get Federal funds to clear snow off the city streets. And that is also the attitude of a great many other communities which thereby help the present civil defense bureaucracy to grow and grow and spend and spend.

Reprints of this section available: single copy 20c; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $30. Please order as Section IV of HUMAN EVENTS for March 17, 1961.

Quotes to Remember

"Self-government is not a mere form of institutions, to be had when desired if only the proper pains be taken. It is a form of character. It follows upon the long discipline, which gives a people self-possession, self-mastery, the habit of order and peace and common counsel, and a reverence for law which will not fail when they themselves become the makers of law."

—Woodrow Wilson

"Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains on their appetites; in proportion as their love of justice is above their rapacity; in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption."

—Edmund Burke

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